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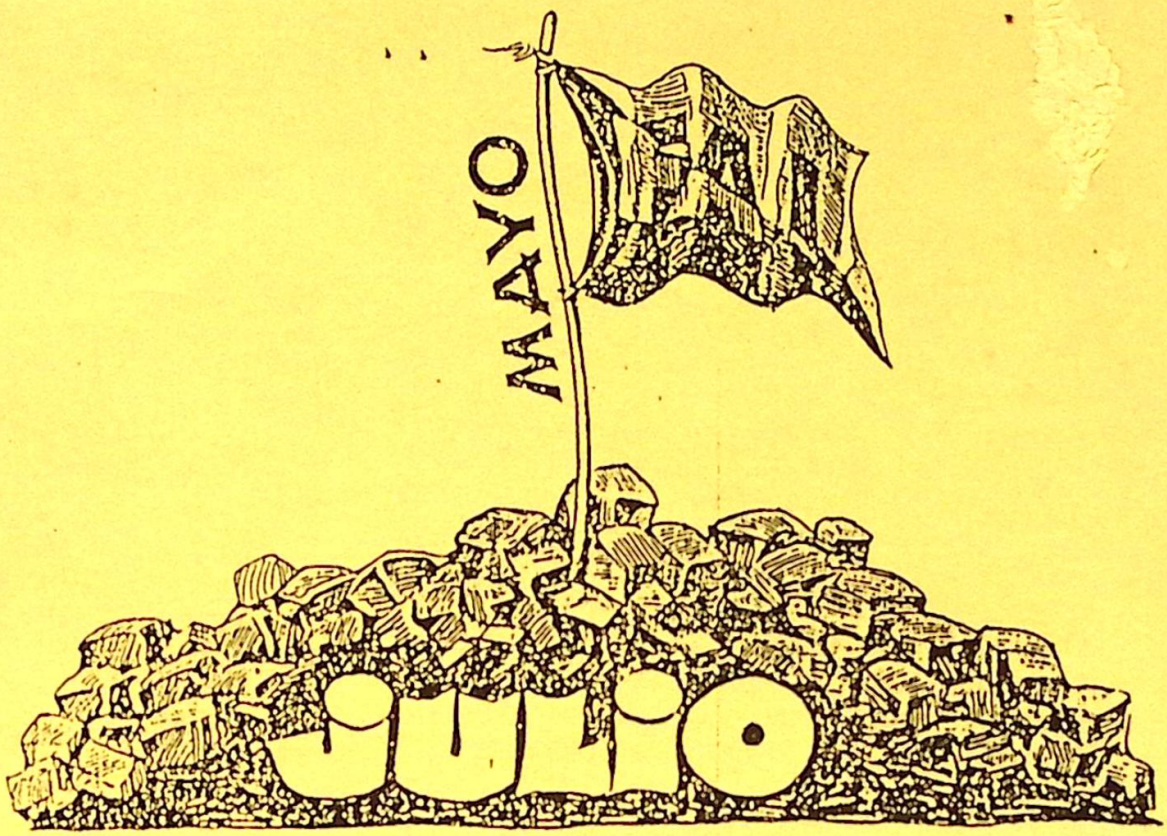
The Friends of Durruti

--- A Chronology



Lo mismo que el 19 de Julio los trabajadores de Barcelona se rebelaron contra el fascismo negro, el 9 de Mayo lo hicieron contra las conjuraciones e intrigas de los partidos pequeño-burgueses aliados con el capitalismo internacional

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Paul Sharkey

Editorial Crisol, Tokyo, Japan, is a one-man publishing collective whose aims are as follows;

(a) to publish Paul Sharkey, The Friends of Durruti --- A Chronology, 1984, in English.

(b) to publish the Japanese version of Hacia una nueva revolucion, 1985.

Crisol is composed of only one man, and therefore he has to raise necessary fund, translate, type and dispose of any other miscellaneous business so as to attain the above objects.

Now he has been putting Hacia into Japanese. He takes much encouragement from materials about the Friends of Durruti which are sent to him.

By the way, during the Spanish Revolution, some Japanese were involved in the actual battles. Only one person's identity has already been recognized. He was Jack Shirai (alias Sirai, Sherai or Jacky), a communist, who died at the Brunete Front, July 11, 1937. About him, see next matter.

(a) The Volunteers by Steve Nelson, New York, 1953.

(b) The Book of the XV Brigade, Madrid, 1938.

According to a certain Japanese journalist, who visited Spain those days, several more Japanese participated in both the Republican camps and the Nationalist camps. But as a matter of regret, neither their names nor doings have been known down to date.

If anybody has information, documents or testimonies concerning the above mentioned Japanese, please send them to him. They, even though trivial or uncertain, would be appreciated invaluably.

Hopefully, he could get many tidings in not distant future.

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Preface

My hope is that the chronology which follows may go some of the way towards shedding some light upon the facts about the FoD group. Because the fact is that, although nearly every textbook on the Spanish Revolution feels obliged to mention the group in connection with the May Events of 1937, the scrupulous reader will be confused rather than informed by the wide variety of assertions encountered. Even historians who might be expected to be scrupulously diligent in their research have penned remarks that can easily be refuted or can't be sustained by evidence. One of the earliest misrepresentations of the FoD group came in a pamphlet on the subject of the May Days which was published by Ediciones Ebro. In reply, the FoD (in El Amigo del Pueblo, no.7, 31 August 1937) accused the authors of '...slipshod work, poor documentation or an attempt to excuse the warped attitude adopted by the committees concerning our intervention in those days of fighting.' Those features are readily discovered even in more recent authors.

The principal allegation against the FoD group is that, with its talk of a 'Revolutionary Junta' it was flirting with Bolshevism, Leninism, Marxism. Some have seen presumption in the establishment of such a Junta. Yet, it was never set up, and a reading of the FoD manifesto 'Towards a Fresh Revolution' will show why. The Junta was to be elected by and accountable to the union rank and file. Functions were to be rotated and membership if limited duration. Repeatedly authors refer to manifestos announcing the formation of the Junta. According to the FoD newspaper and to Jaime Balius, it was never formed. This fact alone makes nonsense of the further claim the FoD wanted a Junta to which the POUM would be admitted. One author* has suggested that '...the Junta would assuredly have had to comprise the POUM and the "Friends of Durruti"', though he goes on to admit '...though this is not stated; it cannot be otherwise.' A readir of the final, lengthy statement from the FoD might have explained to him that it could indeed have been otherwise.

Others** have perceived in the statements of Jaime Balius and the FoD group the impact of Marxist activists, such as Hans Freud-Moulin. Yet one has only to compare the record of such as Pablo Ruiz, Jaime Balius and Francisco Carreno with that of the youthful Moulin, or to read the admission by those very same authors that they themselves needed an interpreter in Spain and that Moulin had despaired of the Bolshevik-Leninists' factionalism, and review Balius's consistent outlook from 1936 onwards to realise that such as Moulin were influenced by the FoD and not vice versa.

What of the propriety of anarchists calling for a revolutionary Junta? Some of the harshest criticisms have come from the leading lights of the CNT-FAI and their apologists. Before entering the republican government in November 1936, the CNT had been calling for a National Defence Council. From May 1937 on the FoD were calling for Revolutionary Junta. In their brochure of mid-1938 the FoD described this as '...a Revolutionary Junta or National Defence Council.' So

who had departed from CNT policy? The FoD spoke of seizing power and have been condemned for it. Yet Solidaridad Obrera (13 July 1937) approvingly quotes Camillo Berneri as saying; 'Anarchists accept the use of political power by the proletariat, but they take that political power to be the ensemble of communist management systems, corporative organisms, communal, regional and national institutions, freely constituted outside of and against the political monopoly of one party and with a view to minimal concentration of administration.' Read the FoD brochure and Balius's articles in 1936 - 37 and spot the difference between what he advocated and the words of Berneri.

Where, then, did the FoD err? Not in departing from accepted libertarian objectives and practices but in clinging stubbornly to them, in refusing to be seduced by 'circumstances'. They believed, with Evelio G. Fontaura that 'To invoke the CNT or even the FAI is not enough, if actions turn out to be equidistant from the revolutionary trajectory which the letters in question stand for' (Ideas, 14 January 1937). Even in the matter of their expulsion the FoD had occasion to remind the CNT-FAI 'leadership' of the accepted norms of their organisations and that sovereignty resided with the rank and file. Andre Prudhommeaux regarded the FoD's policies as approximate to the views advanced by Bakunin after the battle of Sedan in 1870***.

The chief fault of the FoD appears to have been their too steadfast revolutionism. They refused to yield to the argument of 'circumstance'. They refused to be bullied by their own organisation. They were not deceived by the Stalin of the Popular Front era, nor by the Moscow trials. Nor were they afraid to acknowledge the revolutionary credentials of Marxists. Yet they sorely resented the description marxist when applied to themselves. In short, they were unlucky enough to have held that anarchism was and had been and still would be their goal. In El Amigo del Pueblo, no.3 (12 June 1937) Ada Marti paid tribute to a POUM member, Francisco Jorda Montana, who had proven her revolutionary credentials by her actions. Fittingly, it was Ada Marti, writing elsewhere who encapsulated what the FoD were so painfully to discover throughout their existence and in their dealings with the CNT's 'circumstancialists'. 'And I tell you this; there are no friends in high places. Fear of losing their "dignity" makes them strike majestic poses which distance them from remembrance of their friends.' (Esfuerzo, Barcelona, 7 October 1937)

Paul Sharkey
April 1984

* Helmut Ruediger, El Anarcosindicalismo en la Revolucion Espanola, Barcelona 1938, p.32. Elsewhere (p.29) Ruediger attempts to explain away the emergence of a disaffected libertarian press (including El Amigo del Pueblo) by alluding to the '...unduly bland nature of certain official organs.' For Ruediger's own adherence to the precepts of anarchism, see Manuel Azaretto, Las Pendientes Resbaladizas (Los Anarquistas en Espana), Montevideo, 1939.

** Pavel and Clara Thalmann, Combats pour la Liberte; Moscou-Madrid-Paris, Quimperle, 1983.

*** Letter to Union Communiste, dated 17 November 1937 (quoted in M. Chaze, Chronique de la Revolution Espanole, Ed. Spartacus, Paris, 1979). In Cesar M. Lorenzo's Los Anarquistas Espanoles y el Poder, Paris, 1972, Lorenzo speaks of Union Communiste speaking on behalf of the FoD, the POUM and some elements of the Libertarian Youth and calling for the formation of these groups into a unit for the 'elaboration of the progamme of the proletarian revolution.' (p.219, n.32) Lorenzo is misleading here. He ought to know that Union Communiste was a small group which had grown out of the Ligue Trotskyste in France and was urging this amalgamation rather than reporting it, and also that the manifesto he quoted was a handbill distributed at a meeting in the Velodrome d'Hiver, Paris, 18 June 1937, its purpose being to expose and embarass the speakers, Garcia Olivier and Federica Montseny, who had 'pacified' the anarchists in Barcelona in May 1937.

*** *** *** *** ***

The Friends of Durruti --- A Chronology

8.9.36.

Writing in Solidaridad Obrera, Jaime Balius gives his opinion that 'The costs of the present war must be borne by the bourgeois... But in addition to moneys seized from the enemy, we must impose a compulsory charge on every township. No one is to be exempted from this charge. In this grave hour we must prepare ourselves for greater sacrifices so that the social revolution may triumph. And it should not be forgotten that the comrades on the front are counting upon the conduct of the workers left behind in the rearguard.'

October 1936. The War Committee of the Durruti Column decides to send a delegate to the celebrations on the anniversary of the October Revolution in Moscow. Sceptical as to the purpose of the invitation received from the Soviet consul in Barcelona, Antonov-Ovsenko Durruti nonetheless draws up an open letter addressed to Soviet workers. Francisco Carreno, the former teacher who belongs to the Column's War Committee and has special responsibility for propaganda is chosen as the delegate. The open letter says 'We have no confidence in politics even if it goes by the name democratic or antifascist. We trust in our class brothers (...) not for anything in the world are we going to renounce our principles, the principles of the working class's struggle for liberation.' Carreno visits the Soviet Union with Martin Gudell. Carreno will be a FoD member.

6.10.36. Balius who, in 1935 had published a book (Octubre Catalan!) on the subject of the October 1934 uprising in Catalonia writes in an article in Solidaridad Obrera entitled 'We cannot forget; 6 October' a propos of Catalanist attempts to mark the second anniversary of the revolt. 'On the second anniversary of the October event we have to urge all workers to ensure that the revolution permeates every aspect of life. The consequences will be deplorable if the transformation inaugurated on 19 July should be nothing more than an outward show... 6 October deserves to be passed over in silence. Set alongside the feats of July, there is no comparison possible.'

10.10.36. A government decree establishes the Popular Army and makes provision for militarisation of the volunteer militias.

15.10.36. In Solidaridad Obrera, Jaime Balius complains of the counter-revolutionary undertones of the petit-bourgeois press and warns against applying a brake to the revolution. 'The Revolution has to be served without selfishness ... Let any who feel unable to follow us step aside and leave us a clear path.'

24.10.36. In Solidaridad Obrera, Balius urges decentralisation and devolution to district level. 'Let us not forget that there must be decentralisation. Let us remember that should any centralising organ come into existence, the creative opportunities which have cost so much blood and for which so much blood has yet to be shed ... will largely be lost to us.'

November 1936.

Interviewed by L'Espagne Antifasciste, Durruti says of the government decrees relative to reguralisation of the militias ' ... This decision by the government has had a deplorable effect. It is absolutely devoid of any sense of reality. There is an irreconciable contrast between that mentality and that of the militias militias' ... We know that one of these attitudes has to vanish in the face of the other one.'

5.11.36.

Solidaridad Obrera prints a radio broadcast made by Durruti over the CNT-FAI radio station, and addressed to the workers of Catalonia. 'The time has come to demand sacrifices also from those living in the cities. There must be effective mobilisation of all workers in the rear, for we who are already on the front want to know what sort of men we can rely upon in our rear ... If the object of the militarisation decreed by the Generalidad is to intimidate us and foist an iron discipline upon us, that is a mistake and we invite the authors of the decree to come out to the front to get a taste of our morale and discipline. Then we shall go and compare those with morale and discipline in the rearguard ... We who have left Catalonia entrust the management of the economy to you. You also must live up to your responsibilities and discipline yourselves.'

20.11.36.

Durruti was killed on the Madrid front. (Over half a million people attend his funeral in Barcelona.)

Por los fueros de la verdad

No somos agentes provocadores

por JAIME BALIUS

Han transcurrido muy pocas horas de las jornadas de mayo. Aun perdura en nuestros oídos el fragor del combate. Parece que aun tengamos a nuestro lado aquellos camaradas que, auroleados de una mocedad radiante, besaron con su frente el pavimento barcelonés.

Nuestro cuerpo y nuestros nervios están todavía presos de aquella agitación gigantina. Nos sentimos maltrechos y fatigados, pero nos sentimos doloridos, en grado sumo, por los conceptos que se han vertido contra los camaradas que exuberantes de amor a las ideas y a la revolución, quisimos defender unas posiciones que las veíamos rasgadas a cada momento y a cada instante, por los sectores que deberían tener un poco de consideración a aquellos hombres que salvaron a España, en las jornadas de julio del predominio fascista.

2.12.36.

Jaime Balius writes in Solidaridad Obrera , 'The so-called Catalan question as such has been resolved ... Let us be equal to the demands of the present moment.'

6.12.36.

Writing in Solidaridad Obrera on the subject of 'Durruti's testament', Balius asserts, 'Durruti roundly stated that we anarchists require that the revolution be of an all pervasive (totalitario) nature, and that the comrades so steadfastly resisting fascism on the fields of battle will not tolerate anyone tampering with revolutionary and liberating content of the present moment.'

December 1936.

The German volunteers in the Durruti Column's International Group express their objections to militarisation imposed from without and list a number of factors they insist should be incorporated into any new military code; they want the delegate system to be retained along with egalitarian features and want Soldiers' Councils to represent the army as a whole.

17.12.36.

In Solidaridad Obrera, Jaime Balius says of opportunists and upstarts that 'The revolution must be harsh, we might even say brutal ... The time has come to purify the cadres of the revolution. Unless we do this, we risk making a superficial revolution, a revolution in name only. The parvenus must be stopped.'

29.12.36.

Issue number 1 of Ideas the mouthpiece of the libertarian movement in the Bajo Llobregat area, an area notorious for its intransigent revolutionism. A list of contributors to its columns names Jaime Balius and Francisco Carreno, both of whom will be members of the FoD.

HACIA UNA NUEVA REVOLUCION

El descenso de la revolución de julio ha sido rápido. Ninguna de las revoluciones que se consideran como el arquetipo de las conmociones sociales sufrió un declive tan vertiginoso.

No puede teorizarse en torno de la sucesión escalonada de hechos porque la revolución ya no existe. Es forzoso abrir nuevamente brecha en la cantera inagotable de la España proletaria. Hay que volver a empezar.

1937.

After the new year the government will issue no pay and no equipment except to regularised (i.e. militarised) combat units.

16.1.37.

On behalf of the Durruti Column, the following units ... the no.4 Gelsa detachment, the 'Accion y Alegria' Group, the International Group, the artillery batteries, the machine-gunner sections and other centuries ... issue a statement 'To the comrades, to the confederal columns' protesting at militarisation and offering a specific structure acceptable to the fighting men. They claim to speak 'On behalf of every one of the centuries of the Durruti Column' ...'Appparently the government is making the provision of equipment conditional upon our militarisation ...According to what the committees themselves say, they cannot give us any assurances that the Madrid government will supply us with the equipment even if we do militarise. That being the case, the trespass against our principles would be rewarded with nothing more than an empty promise.' This manifesto is published in the paper Acracia of Lerida. In the FoD newspaper (El Amigo del Pueblo, no.5, 20 July 1937) this manifesto is reprinted and it is stated ... 'On the date given at the foot of the manifesto, the Friends of Durruti group, composed for the most part of comrades from the Aragon Front, Durruti Column (Gelsa section) published opinions regarding militarisation which the passage of time have endorsed against the 'majority' who opposed it' ... 'Even from the front line, amid the mud of the trenches, amid the cold and the thirst, watching our comrades fall day in day out, we opposed the anti-revolutionary suicidal course followed by those who were the mentors of our organisation.'

18.1.37.

The Generalidad government of Catalonia passes 58 decrees severely curtailing the revolution.

> No queda otro camino que el de una nueva revolución. Vayamos a su preparación. Y en el fragor de la nueva gesta nos volveremos a encontrar en la calle los camaradas que hoy batallan en los frentes, los camaradas que yacen tras rejas y los camaradas que en la hora actual aún no han perdido la esperanza de una revolución que rinda justicia a la clase trabajadora.
>
> A la consecución de una nueva revolución que dé satisfacción completa a los obreros de la ciudad y del campo. A la consecución de una sociedad anarquista que dé satisfacción a las aspiraciones humanas.
>
> ¡¡Adelante, camaradas!!

5 - 8.2.37. Delegates from the anarchist militias meet in congress in Valencia to discuss the question of militarisation. The objectors from the Durruti Column (Gelsa sector) are represented by Pablo Ruiz, who helped Durruti storm the Atarazanas barracks in Barcelona on 20 July 1936. The Gelsa objectors were several times instructed to adhere to the decision taken regarding militarisation. Injunctions to this effect from the Regional Committees of the CNT and FAI were ignored. So was the order that the refractories should lay down their weapons and quit the front. Hostility between the compliant and the refractory sections of the Durruti Column was so serious that a commission from the column, headed by Jose Manzana spoke with the regional committees on the subject. As a result, the militiamen at Gelsa were invited to resolve the situation one way (by militarising) or the other (by quitting the front). They agreed to quit the front and give up their weapons within 15 days. Later the FoD would explain (in El Amigo del Pueblo, no.5, 21 July 1937) 'Our withdrawal from the front was due to the fact that we had no desire to assume reponsibility for a mistaken attitude whose failure we foresaw. Now, back in the rearguard, we remain combatants.'

C.N.T. **F.A.I.**

Agrupación "Los amigos de Durruti"

¡TRABAJADORES..¡

Una Junta revolucionaria. - Fusilamiento de los culpables.

Desarme de todos los Cuerpos armados.

Socialización de la economia.

Disolución de los Partidos políticos que hayan agredido a la clase trabajadora.

No cedamos la calle. La revolución ante todo.

Saludamos a nuestros Camaradas del P.O.U.M. que han confraternizado en la calle con nosotros.

VIVA LA REVOLUCIÓN SOCIAL... ¡ABAJO LA CONTRAREVOLUCIÓN!

4.3.37.

A decree from the Generalidad dissolves the control patrols. In the POUM paper La Batalla, Andres Nin reprints large extracts from an article by Jaime Balius published in the CNT evening paper La Noche. (Balius was director of La Noche which, along with Catalunya sold around 45,000 copies daily ... figures from Solidaridad Obrera, 2 April 1937). In that article, welcomed by Nin, Balius had written 'We anarchists have arrived at the limits of our concessions. ... Not another step backward. It is the hour of action. Save the revolution' and 'If we continue to give up our positions there is no doubt that in a short time we shall be overwhelmed and the revolution will simply be another souvenir. It is for this fundamental reason that it is necessary to develop a new orientation in our movement.' Balius also wrote that he was gratified to find that 'Our anxiety is now shared by the evening paper of an organisation with which we are in fundamental agreement concerning the present revolutionary epoch and the role of the working class.' Clearly that organisation was the POUM.

5.3.37.

Solidaridad Obrera carries an announcement of the formation of the FoD group. 'The Friends of Durruti is not just another club. We aim to see the Spanish Revolution pervaded by the revolutionary acumen of our Durruti. The FoD remain faithful to the last words uttered by our comrade in the heart of Barcelona in denunciation of the work of the counter-revolution. ... To enrol in our association, it is vital that one belong to the CNT and show evidence of a record of struggle a love of ideas and the revolution. On a temporary basis, applications may be made at Rambla de Cataluna, 15,principal (CNT Journalists' Section) between 5.00 pm and 7.00 pm.'

8.3.37.

The formation of the FoD is announced in the pages of Frente, the organ of the Durruti Column, printed in Pina de Ebro, Aragon.

17.3.37.

A FoD meeting scheduled for 9.30 pm that day in what is described as the group's 'social Premises' at Rambla de las Flores, 1, 1 is announced in Solidaridad Obrera. The purpose of the meeting is to elect a new steering committee and lay down the statutes governing the group. 'At the same time we appeal to militants of some standing and various organisms with a view to forming a group that will live up entirely to the precepts bequeathed to us by the martyr of the ideal, the idol of the People.'

20.3.37.

Solidaridad Obrera carries notice of a FoD meeting scheduled for 11.00 am, 21 March 1937. This notice is repeated on the following day.

31.3.37. Issue no.6, vol.II of the POUM's English language organ, The Spanish Revolution (31.3.37.) notes a move by the CNT to centralise authority in its regional committees. Those committees only are empowered to decree mobilisations, issue orders and watchwords, etc. 'All who do not act according to these rules and agreements will be publicly expelled from the organisation.'

The paper The Spanish Revolution from which the author quotes here was the POUM's English-language organ published in Barcelona under the editorship of the American Charles Orr. And besides, there was another paper called The Spanish Revolution published in New York by the United Libertarian Organisations. Each of them was reprinted. Interestingly, Sam Dolgoff (pseud. Sam Weiner), who was an editor of the anarchist The Spanish Revolution and writes the introduction to the reprint of the anarchist paper, says in Soil of Liberty, vol.8 no.2, that Russell Blackwell, who writes the introduction to the reprint of the POUMist paper, was a member of the Friends of Durruti during the May Days in Barcelona in 1937. (publisher)

Programa revolucionario de la Agrupación "Amigos de Durruti":

Una Junta Revolucionaria.

El Poder económico a los Sindicatos.

Los Municipios libres.

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Queremos llenar una etapa.

Somos Anarquistas.

1.4.37.

Ruta, the organ of the Libertarian Youth in Catalonia carries an article by the FoD entitled 'On behalf of the anarchist concept of the revolution.' It says 'We point the finger at no one. We feel a burning love for our precepts and our organisations. But as militants of them, we have an indisputable right to speak out. There is still time for us rescue the revolution and revitalise our precepts but we must press on with the revolution.'

8.4.37.

Balius article 'Let's make the revolution' appears in Ideas, no.15. Speaking of the presumption of Companys, Balius says 'It is intolerable that an individual without the slightest support in the workplaces should try to arrogate to himself the power which rightly belongs only to the working people. ... But the bourgeois politicians are not to blame for this, for after all this is their stock in trade. No. To apportion the blame for the revolution's not having swept aside the foes of the working class, one has to look to the workers' ranks ... to those whose indecision in the early stages allowed the forces of counter-revolution to grow to the extent that now it will be a costly business to cut them down to size.'

14.4.37.

As the birthday celebrations of the Second Republic approach, the FoD issues a leaflet addressed 'To the working people'. It records the dangers posed to the revolution by the State, parliamentary socialism, government-controlled security forces and an attempt to shift attention away from July 1936 to April 1931. 'A wave of reaction is fed by those segments of the middle class which rely upon the praetorian corps spawned by the bourgeois stage for backing.' ... 'If we retreat in the face of our enemies we will be ousted from the whole Peninsula. Let us not waver.' ... 'We possess the organs which must replace the state which is in ruins. The unions and the municipalities must take charge of the economic and social life of the Peninsula. THE CLEAR AND OBVIOUS SOLUTION ... FREE UNIONS AND FREE MUNICIPALITIES.'...'parliamentary socialism ... has a content more bourgeois than worker.'...'We are not prepared to tolerate the shameful situation whereby fascists stroll through the streets and a nest of place-seekers is respected while our comrades linger in jail awaiting their appearance in the dock.'...'We want no part of 14 April. Its memory is obnoxious. Only the parasites of politics can commemorate it.' ... '14 April is not a day for demonstrations. We know the meaning of the April masquerade. And because we do not want July to end up like the hopeless early days of the Republic we resolutely oppose those who espouse the April anniversary and the figure of a lawyer raised to the heights of presidential office.' (a reference to Companys)

16.4.37.

Solidaridad Obrera carries a notice concerning the funeral arrangements for one Francisco Garcia, which, it says, will be '... of especial interest to the "Friends of Durruti."'

19.4.37.

The FoD hold a public meeting in Barcelona in the Poliorama Theatre. It is attended by Jaime Balius, Pablo Ruiz, Francisco Pellicer (of the Iron Column) and Francisco Carreno (of the Durruti Column's War Committee). Balius, Ruiz and Pellicer belonged, along with Bruno Llado, to the same anarchist group, the 'Renacer' group of the FAI.

Al pueblo trabajador

EL MOMENTO ACTUAL

Estamos viviendo uno de los instantes más culminantes de la revolución española. El Estado capitalista, que sufrió una arremetida formidable en las memorables jornadas de julio, se mantiene todavía en pie por la obra contrarrevolucionaria de la pequeña burguesía.

Una oleada de reacción es alimentada por los sectores de la clase media que se respaldan en los cuerpos pretorianos nacidos en la etapa burguesa.

La crisis de la Generalidad es una demostración categórica de que se ha de estructurar un mundo nuevo, prescindiendo, por entero, de las formas estatales.

Ha llegado la hora de que la legión de pequeños burgueses, tenderos y guardias sean barridos sin piedad. No es posible transigir con la contrarrevolución que está encarnada por los factores susodichos.

La hora actual es de vida o muerte para la clase trabajadora. Si cedemos el paso a nuestros enemigos seremos descartados del área peninsular. No dudemos.

La CNT y la FAI, por ser las organizaciones que recogen el latido popular, han de dar una salida revolucionaria al callejón sin salida que motiva el momento actual. Poseemos los órganos que han de substituir al Estado en ruina. Los sindicatos y los Municipios han de hacerse cargo de la vida económica y social de la Península. La SOLUCION ES CLARA Y EVIDENTE: SINDICATO y MUNICIPIO LIBRES.

EL CASO MAROTO

El gobernador de Almería, adherente al Socialismo parlamentario, en el que hay un contenido más de burgués que obrero, ha hecho unas declaraciones a la prensa en las que lanza una cantidad ingente de bilis contra nuestro camarada Maroto. Es del dominio público que el camarada Maroto fué detenido a raíz de un incidente con el gobernador socialista Morón, motivado por la participación de Maroto en un mitin organizado por los compañeros del sureste andaluz.

Para este pretexto fútil ha servido de argumento para que el pretor socialista haya intentado de acumular actividades fascistas a nuestro camarada.

¡Maroto lleva cinco semanas en la cárcel! ¡La paradoja es terrible! No son los hombres del blanco negro quienes mantienen su prisión. Son los representantes del socialismo. La maniobra contra Maroto es de una envergadura colosal. Al desprestigiar a Maroto, se trata de echar cieno contra las organizaciones que constituyen la única garantía de que la revolución no será ahogada.

Al defender a Maroto, defendemos a la CNT y a la FAI. Y al exigir su libertad cumplimos con una obligación ineludible.

No supliquemos. Nuestros representantes en Valencia tienen la obligación de liberar a Maroto o dimitir.

LAS DETENCIONES DE VALENCIA Y DE OLESA DE MONTSERRAT

La contrarrevolución se manifiesta por doquier. Unos incidentes ocurridos en Valencia y en Olesa de Montserrat han motivado la detención de un gran número de camaradas.

La fuerza pública, que se siente halagada por la pequeña burguesía, da muestras de unos agallas intolerables. En plena ciudad, en Barcelona, es agredido un trabajador. En Olesa de Montserrat es asaltado un centro nuestro. Los trabajadores protestan. Una legión de guardias de asalto es mandada a la población vilipendiada por la C. N. Republicana.

Este estado de cosas no puede ni debe tolerarse. Los presos por los sucesos de Valencia y los presos por los sucesos de Olesa de Montserrat han de ser libertados. ¡Quien se oponga a ello es un traidor y un fascista!

No estamos dispuestos a tolerar la vergüenza que mientras se pasean los fascistas por la calle y mientras se respeta un vivero de enchufistas, nuestros camaradas continúen en la cárcel en espera del banquillo de los acusados.

EL 14 DE ABRIL

Se está fraguando la contrarrevolución de una manera descarada. Nuestros enemigos se sirven del presidente —Luis Companys— de una institución que ya no tiene razón de existir, para envenenar el ambiente.

La pequeña burguesía trata de celebrar el 14 de abril con toda pompa. Se trata de un homenaje a un hombre que sólo representa intereses bastardos. Los patrocinadores de esta charanga son los más acérrimos enemigos de la revolución y de la clase trabajadora.

No queremos saber nada del 14 de abril. Su recuerdo es nefasto. Solamente lo pueden remembrar los vividores de la política.

Los trabajadores españoles vivimos bajo el signo del 19 de julio. Todos los otros fechas no poseen virtualidad ante la eclosión social de las jornadas de julio. El 14 de abril no es un día de manifestaciones. Nosotros sabemos qué significa la mascarada de abril. Y porque no queremos que julio termine como la etapa infausta de los comienzos de la República nos enfrentamos de una manera decidida con los que patrocinan el aniversario de abril y con la figura que encarna un abogado elevado a la cima presidencial.

AGRUPACION «LOS AMIGOS DE DURRUTI»

1.5.37. See note 1.

2.5.37. The FoD hold a public meeting in the Goya Theatre, Barcelona. They warn that an attack upon the workers is imminent, pointing to the funeral of Roldan Cortada, the revolt by the carabineers in Ripoll and other provocations as part of a series of incidents planned in government circles by representatives of so-called antifascist groups.

3.5.37. Rodriguez Sala of the PSUC seizes the Telephone Exchange in Barcelona. This signals the start of the May Events which pit the CNT, FAI, FIJL and POUM against the PSUC, the republicans and Catalanists and the official security forces. The revolutionary forces had soon secured the city, all except the city centre. Just as CNT-FAI Defence Committee had resolved to make a final assault on the Generalidad building, Police Headquarters and the Hotel Colon there came radio appeals by Garcia Oliver and Marano Vazquez of the CNT for a ceasefire (4 May). The reformist forces availed of this chance to renew their attacks. The conflict broke out again.

4.5.37. The FoD issue leaflets, reading 'CNT, FAI, The Friends of Durruti Group., Workers! A Revolutionary Junta. Shoot the culprits. Disarm all of the armed corps. Socialise the economy. Dissolve the political parties which have turned against the working class. Let us not surrender the streets. The revolution above everything. We salute our comrades of the POUM who have sided with us on the streets. Long live the Social Revolution! Down with the Counter-Revolution!' See note 2. This leaflet was approvingly reprinted in La Batalla on 6 May.

5.5.37. As the fighting continued, Solidaridad Obrera carried a notice from the Regional Committees of the CNT and FAI, the FAI's Peninsular Committee, the Local Federation of CNT unions, the Regional Committee of the Libertarian Youth and the Local Federation of anarchist groups complaining of apocryphal leaflets circulating, allegedly signed by the POUM, CNT and FAI. Their contents are founded objectionable by the above committees. 'What we wish to have clearly understood is that neither the CNT nor the FAI has signed any sort of leaflet, handbill, manifesto or document of any other description along with the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (POUM).'

6.5.37. Solidaridad Obrera carries a note from the Regional committees of the CNT and the FAI dated 5 May 1937.

We are taken aback by some leaflets circulating in the city and endorsed by an entity called "The Friends of Durruti". Its contents are utterly intolerable and contrary to the decision made by the

libertarian movement; this obliges us to disown it in full and in public.

Let this be noted by all comrades and by the public in general. We categorically disown this leaflet and point out that yesterday we found ourselves obliged to disown another by that very same body.

We of the regional committees of the CNT and FAI are not disposed to let anyone speculate with our organisations, nor may anyone flirt with dubious attitudes or maybe the intrigues of outright agents provocateurs.

Let everyone adhere to the specific watchword of these committees. The Generalidad Council having been formed, everyone must accept its decisions for we all are represented in it. Get the guns off the streets.'

Also on 6 May, the FoD issues a larger manifesto headed with the words 'CNT, FAI, Friends of Durruti Group, Workers'. It reviews the the fighting, (then still in progress) and the FoD's earlier alerting of the workers to the imminent attack. It names the provocateurs as the PSUC, Estat Catala, the Esquerra and the Generalidad-controlled security forces, with the Valencia government and Generalidad government in the background. 'We have won the streets which we have no wish to surrender, for they belong to us, we having taken them in an open and resolute battle.' Speaking of the May fighting, the FoD explain that 'We have not taken to the streets simply to request that the armed corps be disarmed. No. We want the due recompense for the blood which has been spilled.' ... 'The Generalidad represents nothing. Its continued existence is a bolster to the counter-revolution.'... 'It is inconceivable that the CNT's committees should have acted so cravenly as to order a cease-fire and indeed have imposed a return to work just when we were on the very brink of total victory.' ...'Such conduct must be described as a betrayal of the revolution. ... one that no one ought to commit or encourage in the name of anything. We cannot find words to describe the harm done by Solidaridad Obrera and the most outstanding militants of the CNT.' ... 'The disavowal from the CNT's so-called responsible committees has come as no surprise to us. We knew in advance that those committees could not do anything other than retard the proletariat's advance. We know the TREINTISTAS on the Regional Committee only too well. We are the "Friends of Durruti" who have moral authority enough to disown these individuals, who have betrayed the revolution and the working class, as being incompetents and cowards.'...'There was no knowledge of how to mount a thoroughgoing attack nor was there any coordination of effort as far as the insurrection was concerned. Time and ammunition were wasted on mere sniping instead of a speedy and daring attack being planned. Understanding and leadership were missing.'...'The cessation of fighting doesn't presuppose defeat. Though we may not have achieved our objectives we have increased our weaponry.'...'Let us be on the alert for coming events. Let us not be dismayed, let us keep up a solid revolutionary morale. Let us not forget that we are playing a trump card. Let us not be deluded by the alleged threat of an attack from with ships of the English fleet, when in point of fact the

democratic powers are blatantly supporting fascism.'...'Let us not abandon the streets.'...'Comrades. On a war footing. Do not lose heart. Be on the alert for the first summons issued to you. Long live the social revolution! Down with the counter-revolution! All praise to our fallen comrades.'

9.5.37. This manifesto is reported in Solidaridad Obrera with the words 'The body called the "Friends of Durruti" has issued a new manifesto which a fresh display of provocation adorned with demagogy. The CNT and the FAI must excise this intolerable demagogy and provocation by the roots and immediately.'

17.5.37. The regional Committee of the UGT, meeting in Barcelona demands that members of the POUM be expelled from the UGT, the party be disbanded, outlawed, its press shut down and its printing and radio facilities confiscated... 'acting in the same fashion against organisations of the type of the "Friends of Durruti" disowned by the CNT's regional committee.'

20.5.37. The first issue of the FoD paper El Amigo del Pueblo appears. It has been printed at the Impremta Laietana, Rou de Sant Pere, 9. The FoD have attempted (page 2) to present their publications (the manifesto of 6? May 1937) alongside the statement issued by the regional committees of the CNT and Libertarian and the Liaison Committee of the FAI groups in Catalonia on 11 May 1937 spelling out their attitude to the May Events. The purpose was to enable readers to make up their own minds which view was the most correct. No less than 109 lines of the FoD document have been obliterated by the censor. The FoD note that their manifesto has received the endorsement of a group of wounded comrades in the Rumania hospital and another group of comrades from Hijar. Repeatedly the FoD insist (as Jaime Balius entitles his article on page 4) 'We are no agents provocateurs.'

22.5.37. A regional Plenum of CNT Local and Comarcal Federations meets in Barcelona. On the agenda is the FoD question. This followed the summoning of the FoD before the Local Federation of CNT unions, when, according to the FoD (El Amigo del Pueblo, no.5, 20 July 1937) it was agreed '...and not on our instigation that our case should be debated in the union assemblies. But this was not done. Those with an interest in our attitude's being sanctioned found it more convenient to raise the matter before a Plenum of Locals and Comarcals.' The meeting on 22 May 1937 gave the FoD a period of grace in which to substantiate their charges of 'betrayal' by the Regional Committees. That period of grace was 48 hours. 'Our answer was that we stood by what had been agreed at the audience we had had with the comrades from the Local Federation, namely that our case be debated in the union

assemblies, insofar as these alone were empowered to judge in such instances and to prescribe what should be done.' (El Amigo del Pueblo, no.5)

26.5.37.

Issue no.2 of El Amigo del Pueblo appears. It records contribution towards the paper's cost from Group X on the Aragon front, from Miguel Chueca, Gregorio Jover, the committee at Bellver de Cinca and comrades at Pina de Ebro. It records also the death of FoD member Manuel Sanchez of Sallent, a mining town The paper also notes the formation of new branches of the FoD and the imminent opening of new FoD locals in Sans, Tarrasa, Gracia and Sabadell. Issue no.2 is not censored and there is an announcement of the 'El Amigo del Pueblo Graphics Workshop at the disposal of revolutionaries.' On the front page it is announced 'The absurd treatment meted out to us by the censors obliges us to give them the slip.' In the face of threats to that effect, the FoD warn 'Plenums of Locals and Comarcals are not empowered to expel any comrade. We invite the committees to raise the "Friends of Durruti" case in the union assemblies, the seat of the organisation's sovereignty.'

28.5.37.

In Solidaridad Obrera, the Regional Committees of the CNT and FAI and Local Federation of CNT unions note the decision on 22 May by the Plenum of Locals and Comarcals and state 'Over double the period of grace given ... for the substantive proof to be produced ... now having elapsed ... we notify both organisations, confederal and anarchist that they should proceed to expel from their midst all members of the "Friends of Durruti" association who do not publicly dissociate themselves from the stance adopted by said grouping.' (See note 3)

29.5.37.

Il Grido del Popolo, the paper of the Italian Communist Party in France refers to Camillo Berneri '...one of the leaders of the "Friends of Durruti" group which ... provoked the bloody uprising against the Popular Front government in Catalonia ... got his just deserts during that revolt from the Democratic Revolution whose right of self-defence no antifascist can deny.'

In Solidaridad Obrera, Joaquin Aubi and Rosa Munoz write an open letter to the paper's director stating '... having learned of the dispute that has arisen between the CNT and FAI and the "Friends of Durruti" group, to which I belonged, I find myself obliged publicly to quit that association, being against the power struggle which it is waging against the specific and confederal bodies ... I continue to look upon the comrades belonging to the "Friends of Durruti" as comrades ... but ..."The CNT was my womb and it shall also be my tomb".'

1.6.37. A report from the CNT National Committee (dated 29 May '37) appears in the Boletin de Informacion CNT-FAI relating the proceedings of a National Plenum of CNT Regionals at which 'Catalonia reported the decision reached with regard to the "Friends of Durruti" and the Plenum unanimously resolved to remove from the organisation the leading lights of the "Friends of Durruti" group and that, come what may, the fomenting of any split as a result, must be averted.' In El Amigo del Pueblo, no.5, the FoD dispute that the agreement to expel them was unanimous '... there was no unanimity for the Andalusian Regional voted against.'

11.6.37. A joint circular from the regional committees of the CNT and the FAI endorses the order for the expulsion of members of the FoD from their organisations.

12.6.37. El Amigo del Pueblo, no.3 appears. On page one it carries a retraction ('as agreed at the Plenum of FAI groups and in anticipation of the CNT and FAI committees doing likewise')...'We did not use the word "betrayal" in the sense of sell-out or bad faith but rather to signify incompetence and cowardice ... we retract to day in expectation that the committees will also retract the label of "agents provocateurs" they used against us.' The paper also carries a note of support from the anarchist group 'Margalef', signed by (former Durruti Column member?) Antonio Bonilla expressing solidarity with the FoD despite the disavowals by the committees. It also notes that, in a memo sent to the CNT and FAI Regional committees as well as to the Local Federation of CNT unions, the Local Federation of the Libertarian Youth and the Youth Defence Committee had both endorsed the FoD interpretation of the May Events. It notes, too, that the PSUC organ, Treball, had reported the FoD to the police for issuing El Amigo del Pueblo clandestinely. On page 4 there is a reprint of a report from Castilla Libre, the CNT daily paper in Madrid, alleging that 'The "Friends of Durruti", originally set up as a cultural body whose purpose was to propagate the ideas of the people's caudillo, has been led astray by provocateur elements formerly active in the Communist Party.' The FoD comment 'This is not worthy of a reply. Members of this group are CNT and FAI members of long standing. Their lives are a rosary of sufferings and deprivation.'

17.6.37. In the paper Ideas, a Dr. Ludovici writes on behalf of the 'Errico Malatesta' group to refute the claims made by Il Grido del Popolo on 29 May 1937 regarding Berneri. He states that '...comrade Berneri did not belong to the "Friends of Durruti" group, not that there would have been anything wrong in that...'

22.6.37.

El Amigo del Pueblo no.4 appears. It reports the arrest of Jaime Balius (as a result of the information given by Treball?). Replying to an article in Las Noticias (18. 6. 37.), the FoD deny that they and the Libertarian Youth spearheaded the May fighting ... 'Had the groups named been behind the revolt, we should not in any way have given up control of the streets.' An article from Balius angrily insists that the allegation (by Fragua Social, a CNT paper in Valencia) that he is a Marxist, be substantiated or withdrawn. Like the preceding issue, no.4 carries an article by Juan Santana Calero, the press and propoganda secretary of the Catalan Regional Committee of the Libertarian Youth. See note 4.

20.7.37.

El Amigo del Pueblo no.5 appears. It contains a review of the dispute between the FoD and the 'superior committees' and the text of the document 'To the comrades, to the confederal Columns' (Celsa, 16 January 1937).

12.8.37.

El Amigo del Pueblo no.6. It is indicated that this issue has been printed by the Imp. Libertaria, Perpignan, France. Much of the content deals with the prisons, probably the result of the observations of the jailed Jaime Balius who continued to write from confinement.

31.8.37.

El Amigo del Pueblo no.7 contains a critique of a pamphlet on the May Events published by Ediciones Ebro. The pamphlet had the FoD announcing 'A revolutionary Junta has been formed in Barcelona', and adding 'The POUM must be admitted to the Revolutionary Junta because it stood by the workers.' The FoD move on in this critique to make the following points 'One; We could not speak of a Revolutionary Junta having been set up because in point of fact none had been formed. Two; The said Junta not having been set up we could not have invited a place in it for the POUM comrades. Three; We salute the POUM because we saw them on the streets defending the working class's interests.'

21.9.37. El Amigo del Pueblo no.8. Reports a raid by armed police with tanks and artillery on the premises of the CNT Food Union, a union in which the FoD had much support. 23 individuals on the premises were arrested. The FoD state 'Once again, for the hundredth time, the committees opted to compromise, on the basis of who knows what complications at national level. ... For tactical reasons we are against confrontations with the security forces. These receive their orders from someone and carry them out. In this specific instance we must discover who gave the order. No matter who he may be, he must be hunted down at gunpoint in the streets as a threat to public peace, even if he is in government.'

? El Amigo del Pueblo no.9.

8.11.37. El Amigo del Pueblo no.10. Criticises the collaborationists of the CNT for allowing the government to creep back and to consolidate its hold 'To think that for six months all of the interests of the organisation have played second fiddle to this bagatelle. ... The "Friends of Durruti" maintain that only a congress can change the CNT's tactics. Anyone so unscrupulous as to sidestep this requirement makes himself a likely candidate for the label "traitor"!'

20.11.37. El Amigo del Pueblo no.11. A commemorative issue on the anniversary of Durruti's death. On page 2, it is noted 'Durruti told the politicians and his own comrades; You demand discipline. But what are you doing in the rearguard? And on more than one occasion, he gave assurances that once having triumphed on the fields of battle the militias would turn their gunsights upon the rearguard.' ...'The temperament of our lost leaders is the same as that which moves the "Friends of Durruti" group. Durruti knew that, unless the enemy was crushed, the path of revolution could not be followed.' On page 3 'Durruti was a 100 % proletarian. Had he lived until May, he would not have endorsed the "ceasefire" but swept aside every compact, every compromise behind the scenes and would have placed himself at the head of that class revolt.'

mid-1938. Appearance of 'Towards a Fresh Revolution', a fuller exposition of the views and aims of the FoD. The decision to issue the brochure was taken in mid-1938 at what Jaime Balius described in 1978 as 'the group's last session'.

Notes

1. According to Pavel and Clara Thalmann (Combats pour la Liberte; Moscou-Madrid-Paris, Editions La Digitale, Quimper, 1983), '(Hans Freund)-Moulin, some Friends of Durruti and ourselves drew up a leaflet that we aimed to distribute outside the building where the (May Day) festivities were taking place. We denounced the Stalinists' policy as well as the hesitancy of the anarchists and of the POUM.' (p.196)

2. Again according to Pavel and Clara Thalmann (op. cit. p.190), They met with Moulin at the headquarters of the FoD. There was a heated argument involving Jaime Balius, Moulin and some of Balius's friends. That evening (4 May 1937) they agreed on the text of a handbill which Thalmann reconstructs from memory as approximately 'Immediate formation of a Defence Junta, a defence council made up of all revolutionary elements from the FAI, CNT, POUM and the Libertarian Youth, whatever revolutionary committees remain and the control patrols. All power to the workers' and peasants' committees and unions; withdrawal of the anarchist ministers from the Valencia government. Disarm the Communist Party organisations in the rearguard. Greater pressure on the central government to secure recognition of a new, revolutionary autonomous government in Catalonia ..... Signed the Friends of Durruti.' The Thalmanns speak of 4000 - 5000 such handbills having been printed at gunpoint in the Barrio Chino around midnight on 4 May 1937. In none of their publications did the FoD ever acknowledge the above text or anything close to it. Given Balius's newspaper connections (he had been an editorial staff member on Solidaridad Obrera and Tierra y Libertad and the Barcelona correspondent for the Madrid-based CNT.) it seems odd that coercion should have been necessary. When it came to the printing of the first issue of the FoD newspaper El Amigo del Pueblo (20 May 1937) this was done in a regular way by the Impremta Laietana, Bou de Sant Pere, 9. The Thalmanns claim (op.cit. p.191) to have persuaded the FoD 'henceforth to operate from the underground', yet the first issue of El Amigo del Pueblo (20 May 1937) was mutilated by censorship so it had clearly been published overground. See also (on p.3) the announcement that 'Overall director is comrade Jaime Balius, while the editorial staff includes comrades Roig, Ruiz and Domingo Paniagua.' The same issue notes that the FoD premises in Rambla de las Flores, 1,1 are still functioning. That address, with telephone number (18721) was given on every masthead as the administrative and editorial offices of El Amigo del Pueblo.

3. The FoD claim (El Amigo del Pueblo, no.5, 20 July 1937) that 'the Secretariat of the Local Federation of Groups and the Committee and the Local Federation of the Libertarian Youth refused to endorse this note ... indeed, the Libertarian Youth made an official protest about it in a note sent to the Regional Committee, while also intimating that they sympathised whole-heartedly with our stand.' The FoD also speak

of a Local Plenum of Groups at which the matter was raised again. '...certain elements asked unsuccessfully that we absent ourselves from the premises before the debates began.' At that group meeting the FoD explained what they understood the word 'betrayal' to signify and '...it was agreed that both parties would retract the terms they had used in the published note and manifesto.' This was done in El Amigo del Pueblo, no.3 (12 June 1937), but '...has yet to be done by those who unhesitatingly, unfairly and improperly endorsed our expulsion from the organisation for which we have sacrificed so much.' In El Amigo del Pueblo, no.4 (22 June 1937) Jaime Balius stated 'In our last issue, we of the Friends of Durruti withdrew the charge of betrayal for the sake of anarchist revolutionary unity. And we hope that the committees will retract the charge of "agents provocateurs".' The FoD claims of grassroots support seem to be confirmed by Grandizo Munis, leader of the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists, the Spanish Section of Trotsky's Fourth International, who writes (Jalones de Derrota, Promesa de Victoria, Editorial Lucha Obrera, Mexico DF, 1948, p.290-291)'...the local committees refused to implement a resolution from the superior committees expelling the chief (FoD) leaders.'

4. Grandizo Munis (op. cit. p.385) notes that 'El Amigo del Pueblo the organ of the "Friends of Durruti" and La Voz Leninista the Trotskyists' organ easily distributed tens of thousands of copies', and he adds '...even though anyone arrested with one of those papers in his pocket would have received a sentence of between 10 and 30 years'.

«Los amigos de Durruti»

A iniciativa de unos cuantos camaradas del anarquista Buenaventura Durruti, que supo finalizar su vida de acuerdo con los anhelos de liberación que matizaron toda su ejecutoria personal, se ha pensado en la conveniencia de constituir una agrupación que perpetúe la memoria del hombre que simbolizó, por su honradez y por su valer, la etapa revolucionaria comenzada a mediados de julio.

Invitamos a todos los camaradas que en vida quisieron al camarada Durruti y que al desaparecer el gigante de nuestra revolución conservan el recuerdo del gran luchador, a que ingresen en «Los amigos de Durruti».

"Los Amigos de Durruti" no es una peña más. Nosotros pretendemos que la revolución española se compenetre de la savia revolucionaria de nuestro Durruti. Los amigos de Durruti permanecen fieles a las últimas palabras pronunciadas por nuestro camarada en el corazón de Barcelona y denunciando la labor contrarrevolucionaria y acusando con trazos viriles el camino que habíamos de seguir.

Para inscribirse en nuestra asociación, es indispensable pertenecer a la C. N. T. y comprobar un pasado de lucha y de amor a las ideas y a la revolución. De una manera transitoria, se reciben las inscripciones en Rambla de Cataluña, 18, principal (Sección de Periodistas de la C.N.T.), de cinco a siete de la tarde.

La Comisión organizadora

C. N. T. **F. A. I.**

Agrupación Los Amigos de Durruti

TRABAJADORES

La provocación de la contrarrevolución

El asalto a la Telefónica fué el toque de clarín de las fuerzas contrarrevolucionarias. Fué el comienzo de un ataque a fondo contra la clase trabajadora.

La encrucijada histórica que hemos señalado de una manera clara y rotunda desde días ha, acaba de surgir a la superficie catalana con rasgos de tragedia. El día 3 de Mayo se consumó la agresión de los partidos pequeño burgueses, y de las fuerzas de orden público, que sintiéndose impotentes ante el avance de las fuerzas revolucionarias se dispusieron a ahogar en sangre nuestras ansias justas y de un contenido altamente humano.

No nos equivocamos, cuando declamos en el acto público celebrado por los «Amigos de Durruti» en el teatro Goya, en la propia víspera de la batalla entablada, que la agresión contra los trabajadores iba a producirse acto seguido. Lo señalamos que el entierro de Roldán Cortada, la sublevación de los carabineros en Ripoll, y otras provocaciones registradas, constituían diversos eslabones de una cadena que se estaba forjando en los propios centros oficiales en donde residen los representantes de los sectores apellidados antifascistas en el terreno de los denominativos.

En esta provocación han intervenido en primer término el P.S.U.C., Estat Català, Esquerra Republicana, Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña y los cuerpos armados que están a sueldo de la Generalidad. Todas estas fuerzas contaban con el apoyo oficioso, por no decir oficial, de la Generalidad de Cataluña y del Gobierno de Valencia.

El proletariado en la calle

A la agresión de la Telefónica, que encabezó el propio Rodríguez Salas, respondió de una manera unánime el proletariado personándose en la calle arma al brazo. Cuatro días ha durado la lucha, batiéndose los trabajadores con una bravura inenarrable. La sangre ha teñido, de nuevo, el pavimento callejero.

Hemos revalorizado aquellos días memorables de las Jornadas de Julio. Hemos ganado la calle, que no queremos ceder por ser nuestra y por haberla conquistado en lucha franca y decidida.

El actual movimiento

Se ha afirmado que las Jornadas de Julio fueron una respuesta a la provocación fascista, pero los «Amigos de Durruti» hemos sostenido públicamente que la esencia de los días memorables de Julio radicaba en las ansias absolutas de emancipación del proletariado.

Nos hallamos en un caso idéntico

En las actuales Jornadas de Mayo, a pesar de haber existido una provocación no hemos salido a la calle, tan sólo, para pedir el desarme de los cuerpos armados sino que queremos que la sangre que se ha derramado halle la debida compensación.

Estamos viviendo un instante de superación de una etapa pequeño-burguesa. El combate librado por el proletariado catalán se polariza en un anhelo de avance que ha de consistir en la plasmación de un predominio obrero, cien por cien.

Nuestra Agrupación que ha estado en la calle, en las barricadas, defendiendo las conquistas del proletariado propugna por el triunfo total de la revolución social. No podemos aceptar la ficción, y el hecho contrarrevolucionario, de constituir un nuevo gobierno con los mismos partidos, pero con distintos representantes. Este es un engaño de tal calibre que no llegamos a comprender cómo los comités de la C.N.T. y algún comité de la F.A.I. se hayan prestado a la realización de tal villanía.

Nuestra Agrupación exige la constitución inmediata de una junta revolucionaria, el fusilamiento de los culpables, el desarme de los cuerpos armados, la socialización de la economía y la disolución de todos los partidos políticos que han contribuido a la clase trabajadora.

La Generalidad no representa nada. Su continuación fortifica la contrarrevolución. La batalla la hemos ganado los trabajadores. Es inconcebible que los comités de la C.N.T. hayan actuado con tal timidez que llegasen a ordenar cese el fuego y que incluso hayan impuesto la vuelta al trabajo cuando estábamos en los límites inmediatos de la victoria total. No se ha tenido en cuenta de dónde ha partido la agresión, no se ha prestado atención al verdadero significado de las actuales jornadas. Tal conducta ha de calificarse de traición a la revolución que nadie en número de seis debe cometer ni patrocinar. Y no valemos como calificativo la labor nefasta que ha realizado Solidaridad Obrera y los militantes más destacados de la C.N.T.

El comité regional de la C.N.T. nos desautoriza

No nos ha sorprendido la desautorización de los llamados comités responsables de la C.N.T. Sabíamos, de antemano, que estos comités no podían hacer otra cosa que interpretar el avance del proletariado. Conocemos sobradamente a los TREINTISTAS que están en el comité Regional.

Somos los «Amigos de Durruti» quienes tenemos autoridad moral suficiente para desautorizar a estos individuos que han traicionado a la revolución y a la clase trabajadora, por incapaces y cobardes. Cuando no tenemos enemigo enfrente, entregan de nuevo el poder a Companys y a la pequeña burguesía y, además, entregan el Orden Público al gobierno contrarrevolucionario de Valencia y la consejería de Defensa al general Pozas.

La traición es de un volumen enorme. Las dos garantías esenciales de la clase trabajadora, seguridad y defensa, son ofrecidas en bandeja a nuestros enemigos.

¿Qué hacer?

A pesar de la tregua concertada el espíritu de las jornadas que acabamos de vivir continúa en pie. Se ha cometido el error grandioso de dar tiempo al adversario de reforzar sus posiciones. Se ha posibilitado que el gobierno de Valencia mande fuerzas a la contrarrevolución.

No se ha sabido atacar a fondo ni ha existido una coordinación de esfuerzos en el terreno insurreccional. Se ha perdido el tiempo y las municiones, con simples paquos, en vez de planear un ataque rápido y audaz. Ha faltado inteligencia y dirección.

El alto la lucha no presupone una derrota. A pesar de que no hayamos dado cima a nuestros objetivos hemos aumentado nuestro armamento.

Estas armas conquistadas no las hemos de entregar a la contrarrevolución. Son de la clase trabajadora. Subsiste el peligro de nuestros enemigos que mantienen sus posiciones y que poseen, todavía, abundante armamento.

Estemos atentos a los acontecimientos que se avecinan. No desmayemos. Mantengamos una sólida moral revolucionaria. No olvidemos que nos estamos jugando una carta decisiva. No nos dejemos aturdir por el supuesto peligro de una agresión de los barcos de la escuadra inglesa cuando en realidad las potencias democráticas están apoyando al fascismo de una manera descarada.

Sepamos interpretar el momento actual. Nuestros adversarios pretendían destruir el proletariado revolucionario para sentar las premisas de un armisticio patrocinado por los gobiernos inglés y francés, y al mismo tiempo para asegurar un predominio del capital en el perímetro de la España proletaria.

No abandonemos la calle. Mantengamos el espíritu indomable que caracterizó a Durruti en la calle, en los lugares de trabajo, y en donde nos encontremos, y mantengámonos prestos a terminar la grandiosa obra iniciada en esas inolvidables jornadas que estuvieron saturadas del espíritu de los camaradas del FRENTE que han hecho sentir su voz airada contra los agiotistas, contra la burocracia vana y contra las desigualdades y los comadreos que aun perduran a pesar de haberse derramado la sangre a torrentes.

CAMARADAS: En pie de guerra. No desfallezcáis. Estad atentos al primer llamamiento que se os haga.

¡Viva la revolución social! ¡Abajo la contrarrevolución!

Loa a los camaradas caídos